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771 would happen in future times; he died several times, and each time
773 he rose again. "And whenever he came back to us, there were great feastings and rejoicings. Milk was brought from every kraal, and fat cows and fat ewes were slaughtered. *Tsui //Goab* gave every man plenty of cattle and sheep, because he was very rich. He gives rain, he makes the clouds, he lives in the clouds, and he makes our cows and sheep fruitful."[1] Another of Hahn's informants, speaking of the origin of his tribe, said: "That very thing, the *//Habobe*, has been made by *Tsui //Goab* in this country, and */Khub* [Lord, another name for *Tsui //Goab*] has made us, and has given us this country. He gives to us the rain, and he makes the grass grow."[2] He is ubiquitous, and the people take oaths by him, "thereby signifying that they regard him as a moral being which averts evil"; health and recovery of health are due to him, and when taken by sudden surprise they use his name in the form of an exclamation: "*Tsui-//Goatse* !"[3]

773 On certain occasions *Tsui //Goab* is worshipped openly as the rain-giver. Hahn, as we have just seen, says that the Naman leave
796 their huts with the first rays of the dawn, and invoke him. This is not mentioned by any other writer; but there is further evidence of worship directed towards him. The missionary, George Schmidt, who worked among the Hessequa, one of the Cape Hottentot tribes, from 1737 to 1744, has left on record a short but very important description of one of their religious ceremonies. "At the return of the Pleiades these natives celebrate an anniversary; as soon as these stars appear above the eastern horizon mothers will lift their little ones in their arms, and running up to elevated spots, will show to them those friendly stars, and teach them to stretch their little hands towards them. The people of a kraal will assemble to dance and to sing according to the old custom of their ancestors. The chorus always sings: 'O Tiqua, our Father above our heads, give rain to us, that the fruits (bulbs, etc.), uientjes, may ripen, and that we may have plenty of food, send us a good year.'"[4] *Tiqua* is an early form of writing *Tsui //Goab*; and the prayer shows clearly that he is here regarded as the god of the rain-giving clouds and of the food-producing fields.

Tsui //Goab is also invoked by the Naman, at the great annual rain-making ceremony, *guri ǂab* ("yearly killing"), which is the most

[1] Hahn, op. cit., 61. [2] Ibid., 64.
[3] Vedder, "The Nama," 130; Hahn, op. cit., 62; Schultze, op. cit., 447–8.
[4] Hahn, op. cit., 43; quoting *Basler Magazin*, 1831, p. 12.

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important festival among them.[1] For this ceremony the whole tribe gathers together at the headquarters of the chief. It is held, if possible, on the banks of a stream, and if there is no stream near by, then a trench is dug to simulate one. When the old men judge that the summer rains are due (about November or December), they tell the chief that it is time to hold the yearly feast, and he sends word to all the outlying families, and decides the time and spot for the ceremony.

Each family contributes according to its means, all bringing milk, and those who can, some female animal, a cow or a ewe, which must be pregnant. The feast cannot be held at all without one pregnant animal. On the spot itself a shelter is made, chiefly for the comfort of the men, and fires are lit to cook the meat for the feast. In addition a fire is lit on the banks of the stream for the special part of the ceremony. The animals are killed and cut up very carefully, so as to preserve intact the uteri, which are kept till after the feast. Eating apparently goes on most of the time until all the food is finished.

When the fire at the riverside is ready, and a channel has been made to the river or stream, the old men of the tribe who are good at prophesying take the uteri, hold them over the fire and pierce them with sticks so that the uterine fluid flows directly through the fire and down the river. At the same time milk in plenty and fat from the animals are thrown on the fire, so that liquid really flows, and great clouds of smoke rise into the sky. Meanwhile all the people round gather together in a great tribal dance, calling on *Tsui //Goab* to send the rain in plenty, to make the ground soft and the grass green, so that they may have plenty of food for the year. One form of prayer sung on such occasions has been recorded by Hahn[2]:—

Tsûi //goaos!	Thou, O Tsui //Goab!
Abo Itsi,	Father of our Fathers,
Sida Itsi!	Our Father!
|Nanuba |oviru,	Let stream the thunder cloud,
Ets xuna tiru,	Let our flocks live,
Eda sida tiru;	Let us also live, please;
{Khabasa gum guroû	I am so very weak
//Gîs xun,	From thirst,
|As xun;	From hunger;
Ets xurina amra.	Let me eat field fruits.
Sats gum nawa sida itsun,	Art thou not our Father,
Abo itsun,	Father of our Fathers
Tsûi //goaos?	Thou Tsui //Goab?
Eda sida gaugantsiru,	That we may praise thee,

[1] The following description is based mainly on the account given by Hoernlé: "A Hottentot Rain Ceremony," *Bantu Studies*, i, No. 2 (May, 1922), pp. 3–4; cf. *idem*, "South-West Africa as a Primitive Culture Area," 27–8, and "Social Value of Water among the Nama," 515–16.

[2] Op. cit., 58–9, quoted by Hoernlé, "South-West Africa," 28.

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Ede sida //khava /khaitsire,	That we may bless thee,
Abo itse,	Thou Father of our Fathers,
Sida !khutse,	Thou, our Lord,
Tsûi //goatse !	Thou, Tsui //Goab !

"All through the day," writes Mrs. Hoernlé, "they would speak thus, and the informants all speak with great conviction when they affirm that soon after the smoke ascends the clouds are seen to form and it is not long before the rain comes. 'In those days the people were happy, the rain used to have its proper time to come and they used to expect it, but now the times come and go yet it doesn't rain.'"

"This rain ceremony," she continues, "seems to me as full of symbolic rites as any I know. Female animals must be used, and those, too, pregnant, the more to typify fertility. Milk is there in abundance, and milk and water stream through the fire, putting it out just as the rain does, and run into the river, symbolizing the running of the rivers after the rains. The smoke ascends to the sky in huge clouds, darkening everything, and so, too, do the rain clouds when they come."[1]

A less detailed account of what seems to be the same ceremony is given by Vedder.[2] "If the rain stayed away for a long time, the people tried to bring it about magically by the following process: A cattle-owner would give a pregnant cow, which had never had a calf before, to be slaughtered. The blood was caught up and the meat cooked in large earthen pots. This being done the owner of the cow would come up to the still blazing fire and pour both the meat-soup and the blood into it in order to extinguish it. Whilst doing this he would pray:—

My Tsui-//Goatse,
Let the clouds rain,
So that we can live joyfully;
Let the field-food grow,
So that we can find onions."

These ceremonies and the words of the prayers show clearly that *Tsui //Goab* must be regarded as the rain god of the Hottentots. He is also called *abob*, father, and */khub*, Lord, as the first prayer shows; and Hahn further identifies him with */Nanub*, the thunder-cloud, and with */Gurub*, the thunderer, one of the names of */Nanub*. Graevenbroeck and Valentijn also quote both names for the same god, *Thikkwa* (*Tsui //Goab*) and *Khourrou* (*/Gurub*).[3] The cloud */Nanub* is often addressed in prayer, "O cloud, our Lord,

[1] "Hottentot Rain Ceremony," 4. [2] "The Nama," 131.
[3] Hahn, op. cit., 130; Graevenbroeck, op. cit., 369; Valentijn, op. cit., 109, 158, quoted by Hahn, op. cit., 38.

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753 us good and harm. He has neither bow nor assegai nor has he a wife.'
776 'Do you say anything to him when you put down your offering at
782 the water place?' 'We say, Oh! great Father, son of a Bushman, give me food; give me the flesh of a rhinoceros, of the gemsbok, of the zebra, or what I require to have! But I was in such a hurry to drink this morning that I scratched away the sand above the water, and took no notice of Toosip; and he was so angry that if you had not helped me I must have died.'"

773 Mrs. Hoernlé comments upon this: "Nowadays the natives do
776 not know anything of Tusip, but Tup is the rain and Tu /oap is the rain wind, so that we have here at any rate the rain, or water-giver."[1]
821 But in the seventies of last century, Hahn was one day in the company of an old Topnaar man when very heavy thunder clouds were towering above the horizon. "We both looked with great enjoyment towards the clouds, calculating that in a few hours' time the whole country ought to swim in water. 'Ah,' he said, 'there comes Tsui //Goab in his old manner, as he used to do in the times of my grandfathers. You will see to-day rain, and very soon the country will be covered by Tusib!' I asked him what he meant by Tusib. He answered, 'When the first green grass and herbs come after the rain, and in the morning you see that green shining colour spread over the country, we say: *Tusib ke /huba ra /gu*, Tusib covers the earth.'" *Tusib*, Hahn says elsewhere, is also a local name for *Tsui //Goab*, or, better, */Nanub*. "*Tu* means to rain. *Tusib*, therefore, the Rain-giver, or the one who looks like rain, who comes from the rain—that is, the one who spreads the green shining colour over the earth."[2]

821 *Tsui //Goab*, it is now evident, must be regarded as the personifica-
776 tion of the natural forces producing rain. In a country like South
773 Africa, where water is in places exceedingly scarce, it is not surprising
796 that special importance should be attached to it by the natives, who depend upon its natural supply for the well-being both of themselves and of their herds. The annual rain ceremony, the most important religious ceremony of the Hottentots, aims directly at providing an adequate supply of water for the life of the tribe; but even when water is available it plays a large part, as we have seen, in their ceremonial practices.

823 Whilst in the normal routine life of the people it is used with
751 impunity, and indeed with little regard or ceremony, it acquires on
784 critical occasions a twofold significance. It becomes, on the one hand,

[1] "Social Value of Water among the Naman," 522. [2] Op. cit., 64, 139.

3: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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CERTAIN RITES OF TRANSITION AND THE CONCEPTION OF ǂNAU AMONG THE HOTTENTOTS[1]

A. W. Hoernlé

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The following notes have been put together from the materials which I collected during the years 1912 and 1913 on two expeditions made among three different tribes of Hottentots. In 1912 I visited the remnants of certain tribes of the Little Namaqua, among whom some fugitives from the tribe of ǂGamí-ǂnûn or Bondelzwaarts of German South West Africa were living. It was a very scattered community on the southern bank of the Orange River, about fifty miles inland from its mouth, and in British territory.

The following year I spent among the ǂÂunin or Topnaars of Walfish Bay and among the /Hei /Khauan, who live now in the territory round Berseba in German South West Africa. This latter tribe crossed the Orange River in the beginning of the 19th century, after its members had absorbed a great deal from the Dutch among whom they had lived, and with whom there had been a considerable amount of intermixture. As a result of
[177] the mixed blood and the adoption of many Dutch ways, the pure Hottentot customs and beliefs had been considerably modified among them. They are an offshoot from the Cauquas, who in the time of Simon Van der Stel (17th century) lived in the present Worcester district of the Cape Colony in the valleys of the Breede River,[2] and belong therefore to the so-called Colonial Hottentots, not to any branch of the Namaqua people with
● [196] whom the other tribes I visited must be classed. It is, therefore, extremely interesting to find that all four of the transition rites (*rites de passage*) which I am about to describe in this paper are practised by them with but slight variations. Whether they brought these customs with them, or whether they adopted them from the tribes with which they came in contact when they crossed the Orange River in their progress northwards, it is impossible to say. The ǂÂunin, though but a miserable remnant of what was never,

[104] [1] In this paper I have used, as far as possible, the notation employed by J. G. Krönlein, Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1889. /, indicates the dental click; ǂ the palatal; ! the cerebral; // the lateral. x indicates a guttural ch; the mark ¯ over a vowel indicates that it is long; ¯ indicates that it is nasalised. A short vowel has no special sign; ` represents the low tone of the vowel; ´ the middle tone; ˚ the high one. The sign . under a vowel indicates that it is very short; while ˘ indicates that the vowel is to be separately pronounced.

[2] Cf. T. Hahn, Tsuni-//Goam, London, 1881, p. 19.

[p. 65]

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114 perhaps, one of the largest tribes, is probably the one most satisfactory to study, for these
101 people have been marooned for two or three centuries among the sand dunes which form
[262] their present home, attracted thither by the famous !nâras melon which provides them with food for many months in the year. I travelled in the country five years after the end of the German-Hottentot wars, during which great numbers of the older people perished, and the whole tribal system of the Hottentots received its death blow.

124 The Hottentots are now a passing people, who have practically given up the struggle
181 of keeping alive their own traditions. What vitality is left is spent in the absorption of the ways of the incoming Europeans. One has, therefore, to be content with what remnants of their former customs and beliefs one can still gather from them. It was only by reviving long forgotten memories among the oldest of the men and women that I could gather up many of the customs of the past. One of my best informers, a woman, reproached me bitterly for encouraging her to think of things she had spent half her life in trying to forget: "You have made me live the old life once more; soon you will be going, and what shall I do then?"

[196] The four transition rites which I shall describe are, however, practised even now
115 among the people I visited, though sometimes in a simplified form owing to the great poverty which prevails. Though I have obtained details from many informants, the main contribution is that of four persons, two men and two women. It is to one of the women that I am most indebted. Hannah[3] !Amatis was, before she married among the ǂÂunin, a member of the //Khau-ǂGôan tribe, where she learnt all she knew from her grandfather. The latter was headman of his tribe, and as she was his favorite, and a very clever girl, he told her all the old lore of his tribe. She became my closest friend among the Hottentots, and to her I owe the framework of my information. She is now a woman well over 60 years of age. Louisa !Kabes is a somewhat younger woman, less intelligent, but very inquisitive. As a girl she used to hide where old and important people were talking, thinking that such as she were far away. She married into the family of the old Captain Piet //Eibib of Walfish Bay, who was long subsidised by the Cape Government, and who was a most intelligent old man. He died some eight years before I came among the people, well over eighty years of age. Gottlief //Âmib was the oldest of my informers, and both he and his brothers had been throughout their lives, not only because of their family connections, but because of their intelligence, the headmen of the captain of the Topnaars. Gottlief was a splendid informer and an admirable character, but he was becoming frail, and his memory was no longer at its best. He often said he was no use, and wished I might have clearer information on what were for him exceedingly weighty

[3] Most Hottentots have now a "Christian" name as well as a native one.

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matters. Cornelius Goliath was chief of the Berseba Hottentots, a very capable man who had kept his people out of the war with the Germans, and had therefore been allowed to preserve his tribe and its lands intact. He spoke excellent German, and was much impressed with the necessity of absorbing as much of the incoming culture as would enable his people to be at less disadvantage in the common concerns of life. He was therefore not much use as an original contributor, but was invaluable as a check on the statements of others. During many weeks he had supper with me each evening, and spoke willingly of what he knew.

Common characteristics of all transition rites among the Hottentots. All periods of crisis in the lives of the Hottentots, whether of individuals or of groups, afford admirable illustrations of those rites which A. van Gennep has called "rites de passage." There is always the separation of the person from his usual surroundings, his preparation for a new group in society, and, finally, his reception into this group. A person in such a crisis acquires a characteristic unknown in the group to which he has hitherto belonged. He is no longer protected by any group solidarity, and is therefore exposed to danger on every side. He must retire from contact with other people, and */hereisa*.[1] But he is also a danger to other people, and more especially to the animals and other living things on which the community depends for its livelihood. Hence his seclusion and his scrupulous abstention from his usual tasks. Such a person is said to be */nau*. It is essential that he be initiated, as it were, with the least possible delay, into that group of his people which already possesses the new characteristic which he has acquired, in order that he may have a normal place in the community once more. But here there is a difficulty, for a */nau* person may work untold *mischief* on anyone dealing with him, who might also become */nau*. Therefore only persons who have passed through all the stresses and strains of human life and no longer fear anything, who are beyond good and evil, one might almost say, are qualified to deal with such cases. None but very old men, and women past the age of childbearing, satisfy this condition. They alone can be called upon to restore the */nau* person to the community. But not any old woman or old man will do. It must be one who has the same characteristic as the */nau* person. Only a widowed person can safely deal with one */nau* by recent loss of wife or husband. Only one who has had a given disease and been cured of it is fit to officiate for a sufferer from that disease. Preferably someone is selected for this task who, besides the other necessary qualifications, has had an extremely bad attack of the disease, the worse the better.

Seclusion or separation of some kind occurs in all cases, but the method of initiation, if we may call it so, varies according as the crisis is one of two kinds. In childbirth,

[1] "Take care of himself", in this special way. The word is used only in this connection, both of the individual himself and of others who, knowing they may be a source of danger to him, are considerate on his behalf.

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796 marriage, puberty, or bereavement rites, the new status has simply to be recognised, acknowledged, and the necessary steps taken to protect both the individual and society by receiving the man or the woman into the new group to which he or she now belongs. This is done by the preparation of a sacramental meal[1] in which only persons duly qualified are allowed to share. In the other group of crises, a stage preliminary to the sacramental meal is necessary. The !nau person has first to be identified with the new group by injecting some of the 'essence' of that group into him. This is done by making incisions in some part of his body, the part varying with the crisis, and injecting a concoction of which one ingredient is invariably some of the grease and dirt scraped from the body of the officiating person. This is the practice in remarriage, in the puberty ceremonies of the boys, in the reception into the rank of hunters, in the treatment of diseases which are regarded as !nau, etc. For diseases the injection of the essence seems almost like the administration of an antitoxin. The next stage in both groups of crises is the renunciation of all that represents the old life, after a period, more or less prolonged, of complete seclusion. The individual must be reborn. There is a special cleansing[2] of the !nau person's body by the individual officiating, after which a totally new set of clothing is put on. The old clothes should be used only by the officiating person or someone else of the same group, though the tendency nowadays is to keep most of them for rough use. At the same time the house is thoroughly purified, and what might be called an "expiatory" meal is eaten. For this meal but one animal is killed, and of it none but the !nau person and persons who can no longer become !nau may partake. Finally there is the careful reintroduction to all the familiar daily tasks which have been so long laid aside, and so life begins again with all the solidarity of the new group behind its new member.

783 888 **Some details concerning the state of !nau.** It has already been mentioned that there are certain people who are immune from all the dangers attaching to !nau. This is of extreme importance, as it prevents the life of the community from being paralysed by fear of the dread consequences of tampering with an unknown and overwhelmingly great power. It might also be expected that this privileged class would have great authority in its hands, and there is every evidence that in the early days the older people in the tribe did have an exceedingly strong and important position, and this notwithstanding the well known fact that old people were exposed by the Hottentots. Even nowadays I observed that an old person keeps his power as long as he keeps his vigour and his judgment, though he is likely to have a sad life if times be hard and he is rather a burden than a help to the family.

I have observed only one instance in which animals, and none in which inanimate

[1] ≠ã‖ã lit. "killing". [2] For such a cleansing the word //nuuts is used.

0776 The rites themselves. As representative of various kinds of transition rites I have chosen the four which are still practised today with something of the detail and care of the past, though one needs to be but a little while among the Hottentots to learn that all the old exercises and controls are breaking down with increasing rapidity as the years go by. I found it extremely difficult to get trustworthy information about the puberty ceremonies of the boys, which seem completely to have lapsed since big game hunting ceased to be possible, and with it the necessary test of manly prowess which it offered. But (a) the puberty ceremonies of the girls will probably be retained as long as the Hottentots themselves remain; and of these I obtained full descriptions from young girls, women, and men. (b) The remarriage ceremony is likewise carefully observed, as it is regarded as an essential protection against disease. (c) The rites are still practised for certain diseases, even though Dutch and other remedies may be tried as well, and (d) finally the death ceremonies are still carried out, for they do not tend to clash with incoming customs.

[[76]]

881 Puberty ceremonies among women. In order to make my picture of this Hottentot custom as full as possible, I shall here and there insert information from other investigators, but shall always indicate any information not of my own collecting.

A girl's first period is called *khaxé* or /*kabeb*. Young girls told me they were exceedingly frightened by their first period, and older women reported that girls generally start crying when they realise what has happened, and tell either their girl friends or some older woman of the clan, often the father's oldest brother's wife. Through this intermediary the mother is told. The latter gets her married sisters and her brothers' wives to make a little mat enclosure (*khaxé ǂnas*), inside at the back of the family hut, on the left hand side. It is a screened off segment, measuring 2 to 3 feet at its widest point, in the least regarded part of the hut.[1] According to Amanda, it always has its own little opening leading out behind the hut. Unfortunately I never saw one of the *khaxé ǂnas* myself, but I had a model made for me, and the whole proceeding enacted. While the hut is being got ready, the mother goes to fetch a woman, who, though past childbearing now, has been renowned for her former fertility. This woman takes the girl on her back, carries her into the *khaxé ǂnas*, and cares for her while she is there. She is called the *abé tarés*.[2] Should the period come on in the veldt far from home, the girl's companions will on no account let her walk, but will do their best to carry her home on their backs, taking turn and turn about. Were such a girl to walk home through the veldt, all the roots and the berries would scurvy up. Once in the *khaxé ǂnas* the girl is seated on her skin blanket (*ǂgobi*) and closely wrapped about with her *ǂnabas*.[3] The wind must on no account blow on her,

[1] Cf. T. Hahn, in *Globus*, vol. 11, 1867, p. 307.

[2] Abé, "to carry a child on one's back". *Tarés*, dignified word for "woman".

[3] "Cloak of skins".

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
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Noma

Quite apart from the customs and ceremonies of the Naman, we can judge of the importance they attach to water from the fact that they distinguish all the various ways in which water may be conserved, and name every spot in their territory where those different kinds of water may be found, so that the greater proportion of places to which the natives have given names are precisely those at which there is water.

Besides the !Áb, the river, where water can most often be found, at any rate in secluded hollows where a granite bottom has prevented the water from sinking below, and deep gorges have protected it from too much evaporation, we have the /óus, the spring, which may be either hot or cold, and is often very brack or even salt. "The frequency of this designation in both its masculine and feminine form as the only name of a place," writes Dr. K. Dove, "proves the extraordinary importance that is attached to perennial water, in the dry steppes of Namaland."[1] Two hot springs called /Ai //Gáma, "fire water," have been important centres of settlement, Windhoek in the north, Warmbad in the south. But, in addition to rivers and springs, we have the Xoréa, or Xoréibes, the water-hole dug in the moist sand in protected spots in the river beds, and there is the ǂgāb or ǂgâa, the deeper well. Further, we have the //garób, the natural reservoirs or basins in hollowed-out rock, mostly granite. These are veritable blessings very often when one is travelling over large waterless tracts, and every native knows each one in the territory of his tribe. But, of course, their supply is strictly limited, and they are apt to be quite dry before the next rainy season unless they are very large. There are also the //gòm //gami, the pond, the /ēp, or vlei, and the !khowéa, the depressions which are filled with water for a short time after rains, and which, with the //garób, enable grass not otherwise accessible to be used for a short time.

Another indication of the vast importance attached to water by the Naman is to be found in the annual rain ceremony. This is, or rather was in the old days, by far the most important social ceremony of the whole year.—I heard of this ceremony among all the tribes I visited and had full descriptions of it, but it was not until this last visit to South-West Africa that I was fortunate enough to meet with an old man, who claims to be the hereditary chief of the gâi //Khauan, the chief tribe of the Naman, and who still holds the old rain ceremony every year at his home in !Hoaxa !nas. Thanks to the kindly assistance of the Administration of South-West Africa, who supplied the necessary slaughter animals, we were able to perform this ceremony with pretty nearly all its attendant rites in Windhoek this last year, and it was rather pathetic to see the joy, not unmixed with doubt, among the natives, when later on the phenomenal rains fell all over the

[1] "Geographische Beobachtungen in der Namaquatrabe," in *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen an der Königl. Friedrich Wilhelm Universität zu Berlin*. Jahrgang III (1900), pp. 57–65.

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
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789 country. So sure were they that their ceremonies, done in the real old way, had brought the rain that they actually went to 796 tell their missionary of what we had done, but he was not sympathetic, and they appealed to me on my return from the north, half wistful, half doubting, asking if I had ever heard of such rains since the white man came into their country. I have given a short description of this ceremony in *Bantu Studies*,* and I do not want to go into detail here. The essential thing is that the whole tribe, or as many of them as possibly could, gathered together at the chief's kraal to take part in this guriba ‡ap, which was to ensure the coming of rain in the New Year.

Rather than linger over this feast, which provides if possible for an adequate supply of water for the life of the tribe, I want to describe in this paper the ceremonies which are performed with the water which actually is available.

Water is essential to any community, but it is only where it is exceedingly scarce, as among our people, that we find it playing so large a part in the ceremonial practices.

182 Taking water, then, as an example of something extremely 823 important to the Naman, I wish to show that they believe it to have great protective powers against any antisocial forces, but at the same time to be extremely dangerous to the members of the society whenever they are withdrawn in any way from the powerful protection which society gives them. Thus the social character of water is ambivalent. Whilst in the normal routine life of the tribe it is used with impunity, and indeed with little regard or ceremony, it acquires on critical occasions a twofold significance. It becomes, on the one hand, a source of protection against evils threatening the tribe and its members, and it is, on the other hand, a danger to the members of the tribe who are, for one reason or another, in a critical condition. I wish to suggest further that this protective power is simply the expression of the social value of water.

182 It is to Professor Brown that we owe this concept of "social value" and the light it throws on so many seemingly trivial customs among primitive people. His use of this concept in his analysis of the Andamanese customs and beliefs gave me the clue to many practices which I had noticed so often among the Naman. Interpreting the Andamanese customs, Professor Brown† writes: "By the social value of any thing, I mean the way in which that thing affects or is capable of affecting the social life. Value may be either positive or negative, positive value being possessed by anything that contributes to the well-being of society, negative value by anything that can adversely affect that well-being." The individual accustomed, especially in childhood, to have the necessaries of social life provided for him by others

* *Bantu Studies*, Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 3, 4.

† "*The Andaman Islanders*," by A. R. Brown. Cambridge, 1922, Ch. V. p. 264.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

H 782

It is very probable that it is from their own ancestors the native priests learned the practice of slaughtering victims large and small in the case of sickness, marriage, and the ratifying of treaties.

H 821 796

It is difficult to say, and they themselves do not know, whence they got the custom of celebrating merrily under the full moon feasts of ablution, purification, purgation, betrothal, and others, and of varying these jollifications and the licensed holidays and sports of marriage festivals with regular funereal dirges of mourning women and banquets for the dead, and of performing various rites and covenants.

S 761 791 754 683

An opinion that obtains among our Africans,[41]) a superstitious belief which infects the race, is that nobody departs this life by disease, by destiny, by a natural death, but they believe that all are taken off by poison, except those who fall at the hands of the enemy, or are torn by wild beasts, or bitten by snakes, or stung by some other poisonous animal. Consequently when someone dies after an illness it often happens, among those who live near Natal, that they consult a soothsayer (more properly a false-sayer) and ask him who removed the dead man from among them by poison. The witch-doctor then denounces somebody, just as it comes into his head, at the bidding of hope, annoyance, anger or jealousy. Whoever this Calchas accuses on a false charge of an imaginary crime, be he father, son, brother or other near relative, friend or neighbour of the deceased, him straightway, never doubting the witchdoctor's word, without examining into the case or making any further enquiry, unheard, undefended, they hale away to punishment, and, prolonging his torture, naked, on his back in the public road, with his hands and feet bound and buried in the earth, they expose him to the rays of the sun, to the chill of night, to the mockery and insult of spectators and passers-by, till he be worn out by them, and sometimes upon his belly they put a nest of red ants, which gnaw the flesh of the living man, when, after innumerable tortures he dies in hideous agony. *Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum!*

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41) This description of witchcraft and its punishment is again taken almost verbatim from the accounts given by the "Stavenisse" crew of the Amelkhoon (cf. Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, iii, 62). Condensed as it is even in the original, the description is on the whole very accurate. Boga (*op. cit.*, 188) describes a form of punishment of sorcerers identical with that mentioned in the text, and gives additional details (omitted by G.) which are also mentioned in the "Stavenisse" accounts.